

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

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2d.

## Chinese "have practised a partial non-violent resistance—& it works!"

Exclusive to PEACE NEWS

By DAVID SPRECKLEY

CANTON, September 29 (during an air raid).

**H**AVING urged our groups at so many meetings to put their faith in non-violent resistance, I should like to back this up with my experience of the moment.

For the last eight days the people of this city have practised a partial non-violent resistance—and it works! The Japanese have tried to break their morale by mass raids and have failed. There is complete order here.

When the alarm goes, all traffic is stopped and the people are cleared from the streets by the soldiers and police, who are numerous and efficient. Some two hundred come into the basement of this school building where I am staying.

I had expected a chaotic, terrified, chattering horde: but there is none of this. They still have in them the remains of the pacifist

culture of their ancestors, and it is this tranquil, philosophical spirit which is saving them.

The Japanese have now changed their tactics and are trying to wear the city out by sending a continual stream of planes, singly or in pairs, so as to keep the alarm signal following close on each successive "all clear." But despite the sleepless nights and dislocation of traffic the tension is not increasing. Instead, the Chinese are accepting the new routine as a matter of course. **The Japanese will fail again.**

I must admit that the very inaccurate anti-aircraft guns and the belief in the existence of Chinese planes (although they never appear) both have a large psychological effect on the people. But fundamentally it is the inbred pacifism of the Chinese which is winning the day here.

In conclusion, may I urge the Peace Pledge Union on to more and more effort. Out here the pacifist can do so little and feels so helpless. In this case pacifism almost ends—as well as begins—at home.

Imperialism, selfish nationalism and one-sided thinking—these things have caused these windows to be shaken by the thud of a bomb as I write. And they are all at your end!

## Pacifist Lead in Glasgow Election

From Our Special Correspondent,

ANDREW STEWART

GLASGOW, Tuesday.

**T**HE opening of the Glasgow University Rectorial campaign yesterday found the pacifists well in advance of their rivals in their preparations.

Their campaign news-sheet, *The Student Pacifist*, was being eagerly read in the quadrangles and the Unions several hours before the first meeting, at which sponsors of the candidates put forward their claims for student suffrage.

The University branch of the Peace Pledge Union held its first meeting tonight, when the Union was packed to the door.

The candidates will be formally nominated tomorrow. They are: **Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard** (Pacifist); **Emeritus Professor Macneile Dixon** (Scottish Nationalist-Liberal coalition);

## Campaign

Mr. Winston Churchill (Unionist); and Professor J. B. S. Haldane (Popular Front).

A surprise of the nomination is the fact that the Distributist Club put forward no candidate. This has given rise to considerable speculation as to how the very great Roman Catholic vote will be cast. It is highly probable that the Scottish Nationalists will bring along Mr. Compton Mackenzie, himself a Catholic, so as to swing some of these unattached votes to Professor Dixon.

### CAMPAIGN PLANS

The campaign on behalf of Dr. Sheppard will take the form of four meetings in the Union and three meetings in the Women's Union, to be addressed by national speakers; the issue of three numbers of *The Student Pacifist*, of which the last will be an eight-page number; and the deluging of the whole University with leaflets.

It is hoped to hold a great demonstration in the Union on the evening of Wednesday, October 20, to be followed by a torchlight procession through the centre of the city to the Cenotaph, where the peace pledge will be publicly renewed and an address given by one of the speakers at the meeting.

Owing to the fact that a very enthusiastic student committee has been formed and student helpers are coming forward in almost embarrassing profusion, no call is being made to the many non-student pacifists in the city who volunteered their services. They, however, are invited to attend the above meeting and join in the procession, which the organizers

naturally desire to be as large and impressive as possible.

### PROSPECTS

At the end of the first week student opinion was pretty fairly divided between Dr. Sheppard and Professor Macneile Dixon as the likely winner. Mr. Churchill is considered likely to be saved the ignominy of the bottom of the poll by Professor Haldane, many of whose former supporters now see in Dr. Sheppard a finer representative of a true peace policy.

Whatever the result of the election may be there is no doubt that Glasgow University, and the city itself, has been made "pacifism conscious" by the campaign.

Messages of good will and support for Dr. Sheppard are reaching the organizers from prominent people and others in all parts of the country.

Following are next week's rectorial meetings:—

**Tues. (Oct. 19) 1.15 p.m.** The Union; Rev. George Macleod.

**Wed. 1.15 p.m.** Women's Union; Rose Macaulay, Mary Gamble and Lady Robertson.

**7.30 p.m.** The Union; Rose Macaulay, Elizabeth Thorneycroft, Professor C. E. M. Joad, and Rev. George Macleod.

**Thurs. 12.15 p.m.** The Union; Lord Ponsonby, Elizabeth Thorneycroft and J. Middleton Murry.

**Fri. 12.15 p.m.** Women's Union; Lord Ponsonby and J. Middleton Murry. *Saturday next will be polling day.*

## Mrs. Crozier's Thanks

Mrs. Grace Crozier wishes to express her heartfelt thanks to the very many members of the Peace Pledge Union and others who have expressed their sympathy upon the death of her husband, the late Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier.

She would like them to accept this acknowledgment, as the number of letters received makes it impossible for her to write to each separately.



## COOPERATION —for Peace?

**CONCERN** at the spread of war prompted President Roosevelt last week to appeal, in a speech hailed as heralding a change in American foreign policy, for "positive endeavours" by peace-loving nations to preserve peace.

Deploring instances of violation of treaties, he likened this "lawlessness" to an epidemic, and added:

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves, and joins in, a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of disease.

Better than this suggestion—which, at best, was only negative—was the President's admission that "it is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances."

The absence of any specific proposals from the speech did not prevent it from having a heartening effect on the morale of the "democracies." Conversely, in Germany and Italy it was accorded little publicity. In Japan, according to the Tokyo correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, it resulted in

## Foolish Way to Fight Fascism

A rallying to the fascist cause, if only out of sympathy, is likely to be the only result of the appalling behaviour at a meeting at Liverpool on Sunday, when Sir Oswald Mosley was injured by stones.

Although pacifists desire as much as anyone to see an end of fascism and its methods, they realize that to allow oneself to be provoked into making such attacks as occurred last week-end will win support for fascism rather than awaken people to its dangers. Thus does violence always defeat the object for which it is used.

**Cooperation—for Peace?** (continued)

the Premier gaining the ascendancy over militarists in the Cabinet.

Also from Japan—one of the nations involved in the President's denunciation of law-breakers—came the reminder that

if the "haves" refuse to concede the rightful demands of the "have-nots," peace will be very difficult to maintain.

The proposed "concerted effort" seems likely to take the form of a conference of the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, extended to include other interested governments.

To what end will the "concerted effort" be directed? Will it be:

(a) In defence of Western interests in China, under cover of preserving the sanctity of treaties?

(b) In support of China, "for the sake of the future balance of power," as suggested by a Chinese professor in London recently?

(c) In defence of an unfair status quo, sanctified by treaties?

(d) Directed toward the removal of the causes of the war in China—the demand contained in messages still too numerous for publication?

Or is its purpose to be that which too many indignation meetings in this country (and elsewhere) are demanding and whose consequences were summed up by the chairman (Mr. Victor Gollancz) of one such meeting held by the Left Book Club in London last week, when he said

The main function of this meeting is to insist on action so determined, so decisive—even, if necessary, so ruthless—that the aggressor will be forced to turn from his aggression?

But there is hope that this may indeed be a move toward real peace. And it is significant—and tremendously encouraging—that this note of hope has been struck in Germany.

Said the *Diplomatic and Political*

*Correspondence* (of Berlin) on October 6:

Now that the President of the United States is again lifting up his voice with the object of exercising an influence on—not to say intervening in—world affairs, we are justified in the expectation that he will pick up the threads where Wilson let them fall.

It is, therefore, not enough to say that international relations are in an unhealthy and dangerous state. *It is also necessary to make an honest diagnosis of the origin of today's unrest and dissatisfaction. Only then can useful proposals for bringing about an improvement be put forward.*

Though the immediate proposals concern the Far East, Europe's peace also depends on the outcome. **For this reason alone this chance to end the Versailles spirit must not be lost.**

(*"How a Japanese would end war"—page three; "The Third Alternative"—page five.*)

**"Recruit" for Pacifist M.P.s**

From Our Own Correspondent

The presence in the chair of Mrs. Agnes Hardie, new M.P. for the Springburn Division of Glasgow, was an indication to the audience at Bournemouth's great pacifist demonstration of the strengthening of the pacifist group in Parliament.

The meeting, held on the eve of the foreign policy debate of the Labour Party conference, was as big as the official Labour Party demonstration on the previous Sunday, and is to be followed by another meeting to be addressed by Wilfred Wellock.

The organizers worked like Trojans and a tableau of "The Angels of Peace" was excellently done.

**All Air Warfare Condemned**

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

**D**ESPITE refusal of nearly all national newspapers to give it any advance publicity the Peace Pledge Union's meeting to protest against air bombing in China—a protest dissociated from the anti-Japanese boycott and hate-mongering—attracted some two thousand people to the Queen's Hall, London, on Tuesday evening.

The fact of their responsibility was taken up by Lord Ponsonby, who protested against the hypocrisy of protests against Japan's actions. "We have been responsible for atrocities," he said. "We are preparing to commit more atrocities."

Boycotting Japan would do no good. We had used that weapon against Germany and Austria even after the Great War was over—with

the terrible result seen today.

"The military objective in any future war is the civil population," said Thomas Southall; and Miss Mary Gamble appealed to women to "explode the old idea" that they wanted men to "defend" them by such methods.

"Demand the abolition of all aerial warfare," urged Miss Rose Simpson, and Dr. A. Herbert Gray added a plea that this country—which had obstructed such abolition—should now take the lead.

"Don't despair," urged "Dick" Sheppard, "there is a great tide moving in the hearts and consciences of men," and George Lansbury, who presided, made a magnificent appeal for sanity in dealing with the problems leading to war.

**Reflections & Comments on the****LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE**

by

Lord Ponsonby

**T**HE Labour Party Conference at Bournemouth this year was of exceptional interest. There was a large attendance of delegates but fewer Labour members of Parliament than I expected.

I need not dwell on the interesting discussions on the new methods of election to the Executive, on the United Front, or on Labour's short programme, which laid down the main points on which a Labour Government, when returned to power, would set to work.

I want to concentrate on the overshadowing question of the party's attitude toward the "rearmament" proposals or rather undertakings of the Government now in progress for arming the nation on extensive and extravagant lines.

The chairman, Mr. Hugh Dalton, emphasized the decision of the executive in his opening address by a declaration that this country must be "powerfully armed."

**I** WAS interested to find, in conversation with a number of people who were attending the conference, that while some did not see eye to eye with me on the policy of absolute pacifism, they nevertheless expressed very grave doubts as to the wisdom of the decision of the executive in supporting the present government in this, the main line of their policy, fearing as they did that many in the rank and file of the party would resent this complete reversal of the peaceful policy with which Labour was formerly associated.

More especially when it was not a Labour Government which was asking for arms to carry out their own policy but their opponents, whose foreign policy they never cease to criticize and attack.

They were not happy about it, while those who did see eye to eye with me were simply aghast.

**I** WENT to Bournemouth myself to have one more say on the matter because in all the range of our pacifist activities there can be none more important than to endeavour to influence a great body in whose hands the actual power may rest to lead this country from the downward road which may lead to a dire calamity and to strive with the mass of the people behind them to inaugurate a policy of pacification, conciliation and consultation in which the threat of war would have no part.

I felt that men and women with whom I have so much sympathy in social and domestic matters might listen, even if they did not vote, to the warnings I wanted to give. I may have been mistaken but I am not sorry our side of the question was put.

Mr. Clynes, who opened on behalf of the executive, put the case moderately. But it was surprising to hear him using the old conservative and militarist arguments which many

of us older members of the party remember being used before wars in the past.

**S**OME of the speeches approving the executive's policy were self-contradictory. Eloquent against war, they ended by supporting the one policy which leads to war.

George Lansbury moved the reference back of the document embodying the decisions of the executive and made his well-known position clear beyond doubt. He had a very good reception.

I seconded, and, without entering into the pacifist case, I confined myself to the one point that all our hopes and the projects we were bringing forward at other sessions of the conference for the establishment of socialism were falsified and rendered nugatory by allowing the nation to be militarized under our very eyes.

**You cannot build socialism or even maintain democracy on the basis of a nation armed to the teeth.**

Mr. Bevin later made a most interesting though rather irrelevant speech describing the power of co-operation internationally between the Trade Unions.

He just at the end made one jibe against pacifists. He said he was not prepared if someone struck him to turn the other cheek.

I should have liked to follow him and say: No more was I, but I was also not prepared to go to the home of my assailant, kill his wife and children and set fire to his house.

**I** MUST not omit to mention the meeting held in the Town Hall, organized by the Bournemouth P.P.U. group and other bodies, with the admirable assistance of James Hudson.

It was filled to suffocation by an enthusiastic crowd, who appeared to be wholly sympathetic. I have never known George Lansbury in better form and Dr. Salter's carefully reasoned speech, with telling quotations, delighted the audience. I took my share in this memorable meeting and found the audience responsive and approvingly attentive.

My general impression is that ordinary men and women grasp the obvious point and understand quite simply the enormous importance of the issue. Higher intellects, perhaps concerned with party manoeuvring and parliamentary procedure and bewildered by semi-expert interpretations, are apt in their private deliberations to reach wrong conclusions.

They can defend them with skill but they must not be surprised if a large part of their following remains unconvinced and that apathy for the cause they represent takes the place of enthusiasm.

Arthur Ponsonby

**George Lansbury**

writes the October FACT book

**WHY PACIFISTS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS**

This is the first long work "G.L." has written for two years. It is of first rate importance to all Pacifists

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FAR EAST

# HOW A JAPANESE WOULD END WAR

## And What We Can Do to Help

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THAT the solution of the problem of the Far East, now taking the form of one of the most ghastly imperialist wars, is in a very special way bound up with the pacifist demand for a conference to share the world's wealth cooperatively instead of controlling it imperially—thus emphasizing the fact that this demand is no mere parrot cry raised thoughtlessly in any crisis, but a definitely practical proposition—was brought out in a talk I had last week with a Western authority on Oriental questions.

She is Miss Helen F. Topping, an American, who works in very close association with Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, that famous Japanese Christian and socialist. She is now again on her way to Tokyo.

"Japan is intensely sensitive to what happens in the West," she told me; and then she gave me a glimpse of history that both explains this and throws much light on the responsibility for the present situation.

It was in 1873 that their first Ambassador went out to the unknown West. He came back with two facts about the West:

1. Christianity is the religion of the West;
2. Military power is the way they have built up their prestige.

On the strength of the first they ceased to put to death Japanese who became Christians. On the strength of the second they also determined to learn from the West!

### DISORGANIZED

One of the facts we don't need Ambassadors to bring from the East, so used are we to hearing it, is that for years China has been disorganized. Miss Topping pointed out that the Japanese would never have had their excuse for seizing control of Chinese territory if that had not been so.

But she also showed more clearly than most people know just what that disorganization meant in Sino-Japanese relations—as well as pointing out that it was caused, in no small measure, by the action of the Western Powers in seizing all the best Chinese ports for their own advantage.

"The Japanese," she said, "own practically no iron, coal, cotton, or sugar; and they have to import these things. They felt that, having taken Manchuria from Russia (in the Russo-Japanese War, concluded in 1905) and restored it to China, China ought to do something about it.

"As a result, China leased certain lands to Japan, and there was this history of 25 years of trying to get the living out of them that they so much needed. Disorganization made it almost impossible, so they took the law into their own hands."

But, as Miss Topping pointed out, it has only been a few capitalists who have gained anything by it. Very much to the point, therefore, is Kagawa's suggestion that what would save the Orient would be a system of international cooperation.

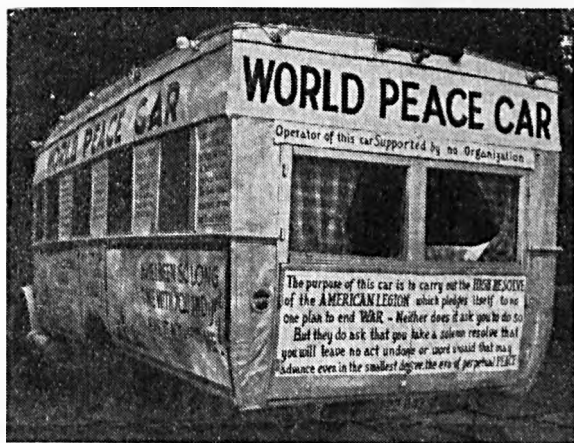
In an address so long ago as May, 1932, Dr. Kagawa said:

Unless we have better understanding between nations about the economic question, it is utterly difficult to have world peace. How can we cooperate economically? We have, to begin with, customs duty among the nations, and tariff competition which is troubling them. Unless we can abolish tariff

wars between nations it is very difficult to have world peace.

The way to stop war is by cooperative movements, by cooperative international trade, cooperative marketing.

Between Denmark and England they have a wonderful scheme of cooperative inter-



national trade. If we can have that kind of cooperative scheme, probably the next war will be postponed eternally. And if we Christians do not move toward that cooperative idea our Christian movement is a very abstract movement.

Miss Topping went on to tell me how Kagawa is appealing, in the West as well as in Japan, "for an international synthesis of pacifist, educational, religious, and all idealist forces with the labour movement in order to defeat the imperialist minority" and added:

"So long as the standard in the West is imperialist it is hard for the Japanese to resist their own imperialism."

### BEST THING

We in the west could therefore help tremendously by encouraging "this best thing that is coming out of Japan." And in particular we could assist Kagawa in his advocacy of regional economic conferences "as a prerequisite of Lansbury's world economic conference."

Looking at some of Miss Topping's books by Kagawa, I saw that he had written:

When we get a good system of Christian cooperatives operating between Japan and China we shall not have capitalistic imperialism and explosions of war violence.

Yet in the same day's newspaper I read that

Cooperative organizations throughout the country (England) have been passing resolutions of protest against Japanese aggression in China and calling for the boycott of Japanese goods.

### HOLLAND

The Council of the Dutch Christian-antimilitarist Union "Kerk en Vrede" (Church and Peace) has sent an address to the eighteenth Assembly of the League of Nations in favour of the maintaining of the international order of justice and against de jure recognition of the government of Italy in Ethiopia.

U.S.A.

## WORLD PEACE CAR VENTURE

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

DURING the past 17 months a man, who is an ordained minister, has been travelling about America driving what he calls a World Peace Car.

He is Mr. Ashton B. Jones, and when I was in the States recently I met him and took this photograph of his car. Mr. Jones is doing this work on his own initiative and does not even get enough money to operate on. The car, which is fitted as a caravan, is equipped with radio, and round it are some fifteen posters issued by various peace organizations.

"I haven't had a penny of money in seventeen months," he told me, "I have been able to get printers to cooperate and restaurant proprietors to give me meals, while gasoline men have supplied me with the gas." Mr. Jones explained that he had been able to get his clothes in the same way. What money he had got he had sent to his wife.

"I am preaching," he said, "that we shall have to cut out the profit motive. We can't build world peace so long as men are dominated by the psychology that it is right to have all they can get."

During the past few years Mr. Jones has been among the 20,000 unemployed minis-

FINLAND

## Pacifists in New Parliament

We learn that in the recently formed new Parliament of Finland there are three members who are pacifists. One of these is Pastor E. Stenwall, who has long been associated with war resistance, and is the editor of the peace organ published in Finnish, *Frid Pa Jorden*.

A. Selinheimo, of the Finnish War Resisters' group, in spite of continued ill-health and persecution by the authorities, has managed to publish the second number of the Finnish *War Resister* (*Sodanvastustaja*). He prints this himself on his own press-machine, and distributed 2,000 copies. He has 7,000 subscribers in sixty-four towns of Finland.

"For the first time in my life—I am twenty-one—the utter futility of warfare was borne heavily upon me. Those twenty-five Swastika-draped coffins seemed never ending as they were borne slowly past on Army Service Corps lorries." So states a young English aircraftsman stationed at Gibraltar, in a letter to his hometown newspaper, after witnessing the funeral of victims after the bombing of the German battleship "Deutschland."

ters—unemployed only so far as remuneration is concerned. He has travelled some 50,000 miles attending conventions and institutes on social and economic problems—pleading for peace ministers' groups, industrial organizations, and unemployed groups.

# Habits and Customs

Man is a creature of habit and from time immemorial has sought a place of safety in which to store his savings. No secret hiding place has ever provided such security as the St. Pancras Building Society.

Interest is paid to Shareholders on the £10 preference shares (which are withdrawable in full on short notice) half-yearly at the rate of 4% p.a. free of Income Tax.

The Manager, Mr. E. W. Bales will gladly send you a prospectus on receipt of a postcard

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## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

**WOMEN OF THE WORLD** come out on strike! You have nothing to lose but your allegiance to corruption. That, I think, would be no mean variation upon an old theme. As a matter of statistics, it is being acted upon, in what I believe to be the worst of all possible ways. The birth-rate continues to fall at a pace gravely alarming to one-way minds, particularly those that think only in terms of racial and inter-national conflict. But while rearing children for the deliberate purpose of flinging them into the fire of the modern Moloch is perhaps the most grievous wickedness a human being can be capable of, men and women trifling with the laws of Nature are so pathetically self-defeating that I would rather see a married woman risk everything than put the insidious blight of race-suicide upon her own happiness and the weal of the world.

But that women have a special part to play in the terrific struggle just beginning against modern war, nothing will unconvince me. That they now recognise the part they ought to be playing is something I decline to believe. And I am as certain that women as women have a case to present for the abolition of war as I am that men as men have a case. The fact that they have a common cause does not in the least invalidate the former propositions; and not to see that it doesn't is to be unable to see the trees for the wood. Men as men have their particular responsibilities to fulfil in society, and women as women have theirs. Not to understand this is to be blind to the basic order of creation—to rob both men and women of their specific human dignity and purpose: it is to be turning men and women into a kind of degenerate neuter; to be running human society on the principle of a bee-hive in which earning capacity is the sole criterion of value—with money as the substitute for honey.

If bombing-planes now play the part formerly taken by the stork, is that not a woman's concern in the sense that it is no concern of the chap in the bomber? If a woman's sons are collared to fly bombers and steer tanks while her daughters are left on her hands to become compulsory spinsters or home-creeping widows after the war, is that not primarily the concern of the party that runs the home? Political guidance the world over is predominantly in the hands of men. If modern war concentrates more and more upon the destruction of civilian morale (which means, in fact, hitting the enemy in his vitals, i.e., the creative centres of his life: his women and children) is woman, as such, to be content with a distinctively man-made ruling upon war and its "inevitable" necessities? Peace is now without political voice in England. Now that Labour has sold the pass, the last political stronghold of peace in Europe has gone. What have those who are required to act only as adjuncts to warfare—as slaves in the munition factories and not as "gallant heroes"—what have women as natural pacifists to say about their political disenfranchisement? Men have always acted—and still act—as if peace were a luxury. Women know it for their necessity. Don't they feel it's time they got a move on?

## PEACE SHOP FOR HULL

From Our Own Correspondents

A PEACE Shop which, it is hoped, will become a permanent Peace Centre in Hull, and which had been organized by the P.P.U. group in that town, was recently opened by Canon S. D. Morris, of Birmingham. The shop occupies a central position at the corner of Beverley Road and Prospect Street.

The meeting was a crowded one, with people accommodated upon the stairs and in the rooms behind the shop itself. Canon Morris, who was supported by Councillor H. Kneeshaw (chairman) and Mrs. L. H. Murfitt, the Regional Secretary, showed, in a forceful address, that modern warfare and the continuance of modern civilization were incompatible. Defence had become impossible. He referred to the refusal to allow the P.P.U. to participate officially in the Hull week for peace and suggested to those present, who were not wholeheartedly pacifist, and there were a gratifying number of such people present, that they should consider whether in the light of events in Spain and China pacifism was not a more realist policy than "collective security."

Both in his address and his answers to questions afterward Canon Morris dealt with the fears that were so often entertained for the nation that dared disarm and linked the progress of pacifism politically with the abandonment of imperialism as a policy.

The Peace Centre will become, it is hoped, an organizing centre for groups and individuals working for peace from in and around Hull and a social centre at which all peace-loving citizens may be able to meet.

### COORDINATING MIDLANDS

The beginnings of what may well prove a live and valuable district co-ordinating committee for the Midlands were laid at a gathering held by the Leicester group at Crich last weekend.

Members were present also from Nottingham, Birmingham and other towns, and they formed a provisional committee to draw up plans for a united effort in their area. Numerous striking suggestions were made, including the holding of a "mass" peace week—that is, simultaneously in a number of towns.

Other sessions were occupied with discussing "Are pacifists realists?" led by Herbert Whatley.

### NAZI FESTIVAL

A noticeably warm reception was given the members of the Bayswater and Notting Hill Groups of the Peace Pledge Union who paraded with English and German posters outside the Porchester Hall on the occasion of the Nazi Harvest Festival.

The German posters, giving a brief history of the rapid growth of the Peace Pledge Union, were the subject of much comment and the words "Tell them about it at home" no doubt conveyed an added meaning to the Nazis who read the posters with such diligence.

Apart from the lighter element in the crowd typified in the remark "When will the fun begin?" the paraders heard numbers of kindly interjections, such as "That's the stuff," from bands of onlookers. A very kindly spirit prevailed and no sort of disturbance marred the evening's activities.

The Croydon Regional Committee has just published the first issue, in printed form, of their *Croydon Regional Bulletin* which, as they say, "represents another step in the progress of the Peace Pledge Union in our region. We feel sure it will be conducive to greater enthusiasm for the high ideals to which we aspire."

## The Notice Board

Stewards and helpers required for public meetings: Hackney, October 26; Leyton, October 28. Anyone able to assist please write Mr. R. H. Pownall, 84 Albert Road, E.8 (Hackney); Mr. R. Avery, 46 Canterbury Road, E.10 (Leyton).

Pacifist communal centre started in Southampton is headquarters of pacifist activities in the town, as well as an experiment in communal living. Any P.P.U. members interested please write Mrs. H. Howell, 15 East Park Terrace, Southampton. Gifts of old furniture, bed linen, &c., welcome.

Volunteers are required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices, 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

### A Member Writes On

#### PACIFISM & READING

With reference to Llewellyn S. Kiek's appeal to "cultivate the habit of reading," may I be allowed to recommend a visit to the City of London P.P.U. Group at 13 Paternoster Row, St. Paul's, E.C.4, where a splendid collection of books may be browsed amongst and the specialized literary knowledge of the group leader is at your service in selecting the right book to assist in the unravelling of the knotty point of the moment.

CHARLES STUART.  
8 Highcroft Road, Crouch Hill, N.19.

## What is a New Group?

A new group of the P.P.U. is not "just another organization."

But it is the discovery and charting of an oasis of sanity in the desert of insanity.

It is the assertion of the rights of man against the usurpation of nationalism.

It is the taking of a stand, which we will not relinquish, except with our lives.

It is the acceptance of the rôle of Saviourhood, and all that that implies of witness, work, and suffering.

It is a solemn act of dependence upon God—and all that that means.

It is the planting of a standard, locally, around which the biggest struggle of our time, perhaps of all history, is destined to take place, and where the future of our civilization will be determined.

No — not just "another organization."

FRANK R. HANCOCK,  
Sussex Organizer.

## PLEDGE CARDS

At headquarters they frequently receive requests for large numbers of Pledge Cards, which are intended to be placed one in each seat prior to meetings.

We would point out that the Pledge Card is not intended for publicity purposes and should be handed out only to men and women who, having duly considered the matter, are prepared to sign them.

For publicity purposes the wording of the pledge is set out in the following pamphlets:

Political Basis of the P.P.U.

The Peace Pledge—are you prepared?

You can't cross a Chasm.

The building up of a lending library for Sheffield is going along well, and books are already available at a fee of 1d., 2d., or 3d. per book for a fortnight according to its price. The literature secretary is Edward Fisher, 31 Brook Road, Sheffield, 8.

## Football Crowds See Territorials—& Pacifists!

From Our Own Correspondent

Wood Green and Edmonton members did valuable work at a territorials anti-aircraft demonstration in Bruce Castle Park on Saturday afternoon and evening. Besides displaying posters they distributed between 3,000 and 4,000 leaflets.

Crowds from Tottenham Hotspurs' football ground passed through the park, and as territorials were active it was as well that pacifists were there, too.

## P.P.U.

### Regional Secretaries

#### LONDON

Enfield. Raymond Page, 34 Bullsmoor Lane, Waltham Cross, Herts.

Hammersmith. J. O. Greenwood, 45/7 Endell Street, W.C.

Harrow. William Grayer, 5 St. Edmunds Drive, Stanmore, Middlesex.

Hornsey. W. A. Wharton, 4 Coleridge Road, London, N.8.

Hounslow. Reginald Harris, 6 Redwall Drive, Whitton, Middlesex.

Kingston Region. Miss D. L. Whyman, 134 King Charles Road, Surbiton.

Leytonstone. Robert G. Avery, 46 Canterbury Road, Leyton, E.10.

Uxbridge. James A. Brown, El-Largani, Corwell Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

W.C.2. J. O. Greenwood, 45/7 Endell Street, W.C.2.

Westminster. Mr. Roberts (no address given yet).

#### PROVINCIAL

Bedfordshire. Rev. A. Cheetham, Bletsoe Rectory, Bletsoe, Beds.

Birmingham. Miss Rhoda Smith, "Inglewood," Doe Bank, Sutton Coldfield.

Brecon. Rev. R. B. Hankinson, The Manse, Bryn Mawr, Brecon.

Cambridgeshire. Dr. Alex Wood, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Carmarthenshire. D. E. Williams, Cwmllethryd, Pontyberen, Llanelly.

Devon. Preston Clements, 40 Hurst Avenue, St. Lyes, Exeter.

East Kent. Harry Barker, 39 Station Road, Ashford, Kent.

East Sussex. Frank R. Hancock, Hal Top, Rodmell, Lewes.

Gloucester. J. Way, The Limes, Downfield, Stroud, Glos.

Halifax District. Arthur Bullock, Mostyn Mount, Ovenden Road, Halifax.

Hull. L. H. Murfitt, 56 Westbourne Avenue, Hull.

Ipswich. Rev. R. C. R. Godfrey, Christchurch Street, Ipswich.

Lincolnshire. Miss Ruth Baker, Greth, Garth, Brant Broughton, near Lincoln.

Manchester. H. L. Kirkley, 20 Charnwood Road, Gatley, Cheshire.

Norfolk. Denys Thompson, Cherry Trees, Cromer Road, Holt.

North Hampshire. C. W. Hope Gill, San Toi, Four Marks, Alton.

Oxfordshire. Barry Naylor, Friends School, Sibford, near Banbury.

Reading. Wilfred Goodson, 4 Winchester Road, Reading.

Salford. A. Aston, 14 Dellcot Close, Salford, 6.

Shropshire. Miss Emily Rogers, Heythorpe, Park Drive, Oswestry.

Somerset. D. J. Weight, Greycott, The Roman Way, Glastonbury.

South Cumberland. H. Brown, 40 Moss Bay Road, Workington.

South Yorkshire. Frank Dawtry, Larksfield, Crofton Hall Estate, Crofton, near Wakefield, Yorks.

Stafford. H. Clipstone, 38 The Oval, Stafford.

West Hampshire. Hugh Bingham, Homelands, Dibden Purlieu, Southampton.

West Kent Region. Eric T. Roach, 51 Belvedere Road, Bexleyheath, Kent.

West Yorkshire. Denis Riley, Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

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# THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

## Armistice Audiences Will Hear Foreign Speakers

VISITORS from abroad will be among the speakers at the large London meetings which the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups is arranging for the evening of Armistice Day.

The meetings will start at 7.30 p.m. in the Central Hall, Westminster, and Kingsway Hall, Kingsway. Addresses on "Christ and Peace" will be given by George Lansbury, Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Dr. Donald Soper, Dr. C. E. Raven, and the Rev. Henry Carter.

There will be 1,000 seats free to the public. Tickets for numbered and reserved seats (reserved until 7.15 p.m. only), prices 2s. 6d. and 1s., may be obtained from the Secretary, Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (please send stamped addressed envelope).

## Friends of India on Gandhi's Way

Laying special emphasis on non-violence as a substitute for war and pressing the claims of Mr. Gandhi's teaching upon war and peace, Mr. Laurence Housman delivered an impressive speech when he presided over a large meeting held on October 2, in Livingstone Hall, Westminster, under the auspices of the Friends of India, to celebrate Gandhi's 68th birthday.

Speakers at the meeting included three Indians, Mr. Krishna Vir, Mr. Tabmankar, and Mr. Bajaj.

Dr. Alex Wood, of the P.P.U., showed clearly by several historical examples that where bodies of men and women, and even nations, were compelled, by the fact that they were outnumbered by their enemies, to adopt non-violent methods, they ultimately emerged as the victors, in every sense that matters.

In a speech full of telling illustrations from his long experience in India and other countries, and of his friendship with Gandhi, Dr. Harold Mann pointed out the evil and futility of the spirit of domination in any circumstances, and stressed also the necessity for vigorous effort on the part of pacifists.

Mrs. Edith Hunter, the honorary secretary of the Friends of India, called the attention of the meeting to Gandhi's impressive appeal to the Congress men working in the newly-formed ministries. It was a call to self-sacrifice and for complete simplicity of life, both personal and political.

This, Gandhi declares, is the true non-violent approach for the Congress ministries in the difficult circumstances in which they find themselves.

## Don't Only Clap!

Two thousand people crowded into Queen's Hall, Wigan, recently, to hear Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, and even then there was the usual overflow meeting, this time of 500.

But "Dick" Sheppard begged them not to be satisfied with applauding and thinking no more about it. "I do beseech you," he said, "to think this thing out and put it permanently on your souls and conscience until you have answered."

Seventy-five inquiries for further information were received after the meeting.

## Pacifists' Demand for Peace in Far East

### END, NOT SUSPEND

IN an attempt to show what lesson Abyssinia taught as regards collective action against Japan, a correspondent described in the *Manchester Guardian* last week "the storm of protest which has arisen against Japan's actions," and concluded that "there are two roads open to us":

1. The expression of a moral indignation which will impress only those against whom it is not directed.

2. Action which will remain passively coercive in the form of economic pressure for as long as it is permitted to remain passively coercive, but which will not shrink from resorting to arms if such passive coercion should provoke an attempt at armed resistance.

In other words, do nothing or be prepared to do what Japan herself is doing only sufficiently multiplied to "impress" Japan.

That there is a third alternative—to set about NOW the task of making the peace which would in any case have to be attempted after the war (with all the handicaps of hate and vengeance engendered by it) and of reversing our own war policy in order that we may the better do this—is the case which pacifists everywhere, and especially at the Queen's Hall, London, last Tuesday, are putting before the people.

The Northern Friends' Peace Board, at its annual meeting on October 2 and 3, asked "the people of this country . . . to consider very earnestly all the implications of their condemnation," adding:—

Do they realize that our vast increase in armaments of the last few years is simply a preparation for war—that is, a preparation for doing to some European city what the Japanese Government has done to Canton? If they realize this—and militarists assure us that the only way to win a modern war is to break the morale of the civilian population—surely they will revolt against the policy of building up a huge machine whose only function is to inflict immeasurable suffering on the civilian population of what at the present time are friendly countries.

Japan, with its large population living in a small island home, most of which is unproductive, suffers from grave economic disabilities, as shown in the Lytton report on Manchuria. Similar disabilities affect the life of two or three other countries.

We, as a country and an Empire, have great possessions, great wealth, and great power. If our people impress on men in public life the need for removing these disabilities and for trying to establish some measure of economic and communal justice in the world,

## CITY WORKERS PREFER PACIFISM

From Our Own Correspondent

THE Insurance Debating Society held a debate last week in the Library at Lloyd's at which Lord Ponsonby moved a resolution against collective "security" and Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P., supported that policy.

Some 150, mostly young men and women employed at Lloyd's, various banks and insurance companies, were present, and several took part in the discussion.

Lord Ponsonby emphasized the pacifist position and carried his motion by 74 votes to sixty—a remarkable result in the heart of the City.

## "Mad" said the Soldier

From Our Own Correspondent

The Leigh-on-Sea Fellowship of Reconciliation got busy at the local cinema last week when the film *The Gap* was being shown. As the audience left, air-raid "precaution" pamphlets were distributed.

This was the first local pacifist open-air activity and some consternation was caused to the cinema manager and to territorials engaged on recruiting.

After overcoming their surprise, the latter entered into conversation and were acquainted with the pacifist method, the bombardier in charge agreeing that the present method is mad.

policies will emerge which, while they will possibly entail some sacrifice on our part, will remove those features from international life which at present impel such a country as Japan to become what we call aggressive.

If we can initiate and implement such policies we shall not only remove the causes of war in other lands, but also the fear of aggression against ourselves, which lies like a heavy burden on the minds of so many people, and we shall be able to remove the reproach that we are preparing to do what we condemn in other countries.

A meeting organized by the Whalley Range group of the Peace Pledge Union last week passed a resolution which

calls on the Government to do all in its power to shorten the conflict, and in particular asks that the Government should immediately prohibit the supply of minerals (including arms and petroleum) to both combatants and should urge a similar course on other nations. It also asks that medical and surgical aid should be sent at once to help the wounded on each side.

In order that the conflict may be terminated and not only suspended, the members ask that

1. All our non-self governing possessions should be transformed into mandates from the League of Nations (with international control and civil service); and

2. A conference should be immediately called to discuss and solve international economic grievances.

## PACIFISM AND THE LEAGUE

Autumn Conference at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts. from Saturday, October 30 to Monday, November 1

### PROGRAMME

Saturday, October 30, 8 p.m., Barbara Wootton on "A Constructive Policy for Peace."  
Sunday, October 31 11 a.m., Sir Norman Angell on "Can the League be Revived?"  
" " " 5 p.m., Max Plowman on "The Case for Non-Violent Resistance."  
" " " 8 p.m., C. E. M. Joad, "Must it be either Angell or Plowman?"

Inclusive fees:—Saturday tea to Monday breakfast: Members 20/-, Non-members 22/6.

Full particulars from Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, 4 Fitzroy St., London, W.1 (Phone Museum 6975.)

At a time of world crisis such as the present, it is a serious matter that there should be a division in progressive opinion, and the F.P.S.I. is holding this Conference to attempt to bridge the gulf between pacifist opinion and the opinion which advocates some form of collective security.

Northampton Demonstrated . . .



. . . Like this, but asked—

Can the West use

## THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE?

From Our Own Correspondent

THOUGH their demonstration against the visit of tanks was a success, Northampton pacifists will long remember the interesting discussion they had two days prior to the demonstration, to consider the possibilities of sitting in front of the tanks as they came along the street.

Various opinions were expressed as to the advisability of such an action and a valuable evening was spent exploring its consequences.

There was a strong opinion in favour of trying to adopt into English non-violent action a characteristic method of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resisters, and the feeling among this section seemed to be that it would demonstrate the power of non-violence and would most probably be successful.

Opposition, however, was forthcoming from those who thought it would be interpreted as pure sensation by the crowd.

A doubt felt by most, perhaps, was that the action would not be understood at all.

Surely this is an idea which can be taken up by others—it certainly caught hold of many non-violent resisters in Northampton. Whether such methods as Mahatma Gandhi is using in India will ever be understood in the materialistic West only the future can show.

(Block by permission of Northampton Independent.)

## The Play the BBC Withdrew

From Our Own Correspondent

*Patriotism Ltd.*, the play in which Dr. L. du Garde Peach satirizes armament manufacturers, is to be produced by the Great Hucklow Village Players in their famous little Derbyshire theatre on November 15 and each succeeding night for a week.

Readers will remember that *Patriotism Ltd.* was due to be broadcast, but was suddenly withdrawn from their programme by the BBC, who gave no reason for their action.

## Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:  
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

### Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

October 16, 1937

### WHAT PRICE PEACE?

PEACE has its price no less than Rearmament. Just now it may be said to have its prices. The price of peace in Russia is the freedom of the proletariat, the world over, to impose its dictatorship. The price of peace in Italy, Germany, and Japan is the freedom of those countries to "expand" according to their several ideas of necessity and "vital interest." The price of peace in England is the freedom to have and to hold all we stand possessed of, without prejudice to British "vital interests" even where our holding is unapparent, and without regard to the poverty and industrial-market-hunger of more barbarous nations. Every country, in fact, desires peace—at a price.

But, wealthy as the world is, it is unable to pay the sum total of all these prices, for that total is beyond the range of mathematics. What, therefore, we actually see is the peace of the world held to ransom by the "civilised" nations who, in the eyes of peace, are just blackguards and brigands. There they stand, threatening each other with all the force at their disposal—threatening peace with almost every action of their lives, and at the same time one and all declaring that there is nothing they more heartily desire. The picture would be a planetary joke if it were not a universal tragedy.

In their tragic absurdity, moreover, the nations expressly resemble those who ardently want the peace of the world to be kept, but who yet retain to themselves the right to break it at will. Both nations and men desire peace—by proxy; hence, to keep the peace becomes everyone's duty but one's own. Thus peace, instead of being embraced by each one of us, runs the international gauntlet, every nation hoping that every other nation will give her board and lodging. The League of Nations, instead of being her palace, is the market place where, by Dutch auction, she is sold as a slave, on the principle that anyone can have peace so long as we have power. Nobody accepts the responsibility for her maintenance because everybody is hoping that everyone else will adopt her. She is passed on like the dummy, and every one of the players is aghast that his neighbour should not retain what he has discarded.

Now the British Labour Party loves peace like —; but its leaders are not having her at any price. So they have sold her to the

I CAME back from the Labour Party conference last week more sure and confident that pacifism pure and simple is the only alternative to war.

Our opponents sometimes used the bludgeon, sometimes quite mistakenly misunderstood and consequently rather misrepresented our point of view; but we knew before the votes were counted that we should be thoroughly defeated, because voting, as is usual, was settled before a single speech was made.

No attempt was made by any of our opponents to meet our arguments as to the admitted absolute futility of war; no attempt was made to counter the plea that Britain should abandon imperialism and proclaim her willingness to share territories, resources and markets with the rest of the world. The conference was friendly, but apparently quite determined to let the public know how completely they disagreed with us.

Our speakers based their case mainly on the fact that we are living in a world of great opportunity within which it is possible to share the territories and resources to our mutual advantage, without the sacrifice of anything of material or moral worth. We stressed the futility of blaming others for doing what our nation has done on a thousand occasions when fighting to establish some claim for territory which others possessed.

As I listened to some of the speeches I felt that I was back in the dark days of 1914. Once again it was said to be the call of democracy and freedom and defence of our country which bade us fight. I thought of the war propaganda against Germany and her allies and of the propaganda against Britain and her allies, and wondered when the world of men would understand the indisputable truth that "truth is the

National Government for thirty shillings, more or less, and for keeps. They, too, are more interested in power than in peace; moreover, they are afraid that if they didn't get rid of her, the Fascists might! And it is interesting to note that at the Labour Conference Dutch auction the chief auctioneer of peace was a young athlete who has leapt into fame at a bid. For he sold her for a song. Indeed, the Comic Spirit must have revelled in the spectacle of a University blue, who was born Quaker, taking the Labour Executive and the Rearmament hurdles at a stride! It was as if sport and religion, learning and Labour, the N.P.C., the I.P.C., and the L.N.U. itself, had suddenly fallen upon the elephantine assembly of Britain's horny-handed sons of toil and given it collective security from reproach, sanctions for war, and hope of electoral success, all in one fell swoop! Never in its most lethargic Trade Union dreams had the Conference hoped for such a gift—it was "a fair knock-out" for peace chatter.

Still, the question remains: will the National Government keep what Labour can't do with at any price?

## Bournemouth—and After

by GEORGE LANSBURY

first casualty" in any war.

Those who like myself are socialists, are certain that the principle contained in the word "cooperation" is the only sure and certain path to peace. The Labour Party believes this in respect of national affairs; they rightly oppose resort to force to right social and industrial wrongs; even strikes and lockouts are slowly but surely being pushed into the background—though "rearmament" may bring the weapon of the strike to the fore again, only to see it bought off during the war and crushed by starvation when war ends. No matter what the end may be, the essential point is that all Labour leaders oppose the use of force by the workers to secure their ends. Why the same people should support war as a means of settling international disputes is beyond my power to understand.

I have been asked what we pacifists intend to do now the Labour movement is pledged to armaments and the support of war if it should come. Speaking for myself, I propose to stay in the party so long as we are given freedom of expression such as we have experienced up till now. If we are met fairly, and the conscience clause in our constitution is operated fairly, we must remain loyal members of the party, doing our best to win our comrades to our point of view. I know this is hard and difficult for many people, as indeed, it is for me; but we must hold on, believing that the truth we hold will ultimately find acceptance by the masses who make up the Labour movement.

Now I am back in London I can see over again the conference. I can also see the huge gathering of men and women, a vast number of whom were young people, massed together at the peace demonstration we held in the Town Hall (which overflowed into an adjoining room) who listened so intently to our message. And as I write, the knowledge seems to overwhelm me that, in ways which none of us can understand or explain, the power that makes for righteousness in the world is once again urging many people to accept the gospel message. Despite the voting at Bournemouth, many thousands are seeing truth for the first time in all parts of the world. In this world there is enough of everything for the use and service of mankind, and the only thing now needed to enable us to fulfil the true destiny of the children of men is that we should understand and know that hatred means destruction and death; that love of God through service for and on behalf of one another is the way of life which will alone give the world peace and security. The Bournemouth conference has more than confirmed my faith that this is the truth which, when accepted, will make men free.

It is said that we are unreasonable to expect the Labour movement to be pacifist because the majority opinion is against pacifism. This sort of argument baffles me. I am a socialist. I do not remember any election, local or national, when I have not fought as a socialist, even though the majority of my countrymen were against me. It took me from 1892 to 1910 to get into the House of Commons. I could have got in at the 1892 election as a Liberal had I not been converted to socialism just at that time. Bob Smilie and many others were in the same position. The Labour Party is, in my opinion, against us on principle; it is not expediency. We have to convert them as well as other people.

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## PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

### Experts' Chorus

If you don't believe the pacifist speaker on the meaning of war, listen to these views of men who certainly know:—

Sir Thomas Inskip (Minister for Coordination of Defence) said he thought that we deluded ourselves if we thought that modern war could be carried on without its accompanying horrors. If Japan were so determined to make war on China he would be surprised if she refrained from using air power. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 9).

Mr. J. A. Chamier (Secretary, Air League of the British Empire), in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, October 9: War has become a matter beyond the powers of any single Service or, for that matter, beyond the Services themselves. War has spread into the air.

### Devout Wish, or Insistent Demand?

AIR-COMMODORE L. E. O. Charlton: Many people, ignorant of the technical facts, still think that the bomber has it in his power if his humanity and his military orders permit him, to avoid hitting innocent people and unessential objectives. This is a tragic illusion—every air expert knows it. . . . For all practical purposes, it is . . . a carnage of destruction somewhere other than the point aimed at. . . . That is why it is so devoutly to be wished that the harrowing spectacle of China under air bombardment will have the effect of making all nations pause in their preparations for warfare from the air. (*Daily Herald*, October 6.)

Yet the Prime Minister, after joining in this chorus (at the Conservative Party conference at Scarborough, last Friday), with

Cruelty and barbarity, the mutilation and death of non-combatants, destruction of property, starvation and misery are in the inevitable accompaniments of modern warfare, had the nerve to add:

Until the world returns to sanity, there can be no halt in the process of rearming this country.

In other words, it is the official policy of this country to insist on being the very last in the world to return to sanity!

Need pacifists be urged to demand insistently the reversal of such a mad policy?

### Labour Insists Too

BUT if they hope to express that demand through the Labour movement they have to face the fact that Mr. Chamberlain was able to boast that on the point of "rearmament" "there is now practically only one opinion." (He couldn't ignore the pacifist opinion altogether, as previously!)

And lest anyone should misrepresent Labour by attributing this view to an opponent wishing to make party capital out of the party, Mr. James Walker, M.P., replying to the pacifists on behalf of the executive, at the Labour Party conference at Bournemouth on Thursday of last week, showed that it is not merely in the fundamental matter of the use of force that the party departs from a pacifist policy, but in its support of imperialism.

Were we to leave India for Japan or Italy to go in? (he asked). Were we, further, to allow New Zealand to be destroyed by the fascist forces of Japan, or to allow Australia to be overrun by the marauders of the East? What was the biggest thing these people could attack? The British Empire. All they asked was that they should try to keep our democracy safe.

As the *Manchester Guardian* put it:

Mr. Walker banged all the pacifist doors that hitherto Labour has carefully kept open. But he lost no votes for it.

Yet it was before that speech that Lord Ponsonby said "the loyalty of some of them in the party would be strained to breaking point."

### Spontaneous Possibility

THAT armaments are a danger in themselves was shown by the *Observer*, of all papers, on October 3 as follows:—

When nations are armed on their "peace" footing in almost as great a degree as was experienced even in the last Great War, and are arming still further without pause, war becomes a spontaneous possibility. We are at the mercy of accidents.

Last year the world spent on armaments twice as much as it spent in 1929, four times as much as it spent in the last year before the Great War. The figure of last year's aggregate expenditure has been assessed at £3,000,000,000, a figure such as the imagination can hardly grasp. The folly of civilization is not even "incredible." It is the familiar commonplace experience of our everyday life.

What is to prevent these huge armaments from exploding almost by their own pressure? Every political leader in every European country today protests his desire for peace. In times of real peace such protests are not heard.

The answer is: "You!—by refusing to use them!"

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

## A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

# THIS ENGLAND

A REVIEW of a recent book by Mr. Douglas

Jerrold states that he considers that Pacifism is fundamentally anti-social. And this judgment is substantiated by the observation that Mr. Middleton Murry was born with "that imperative conviction of one's private life which war so uncompromisingly affronts." I should not like Pacifism to be tarred by the brush of my personality; and I take up the remark because it gives expression to a fairly widespread opinion of Pacifism and Pacifists. If I reply to it personally, it is merely because I dislike to generalize where I can avoid it. I hope that what I have to say of my own convictions, others will feel to be true of theirs.

I think that what Mr. Jerrold means by saying that I have "an imperative conviction of my private life" (leaving out the question whether I was born with it or not) is that I have a conviction of my reality and validity as an individual. It is true: I have. It is also true that war affronts it. But that is not the reason why I am a Pacifist. If it were, I think Mr. Jerrold would be a Pacifist, too: for I suppose he also has a conviction of his validity as an individual; and I am sure that war affronts it.

But let us be clear as to what we mean by a conviction of one's validity as an individual. It does not mean to be convinced that one's own life is precious either to oneself or to the community. To be valid is not to be valuable. The fact that I might be killed in war is entirely irrelevant to me. To die in defence of one's country still seems to me one of the best ways of dying; and, since I am a little weary, I would hasten to meet it, if only there were a way.

But I have learned, or discovered, that there is no way to die in defence of one's country today. What is my country? Oh, I am no citizen of the world: and the only way I know to an internationalism that is not spectral is through my nationalism. My country is this England, without a doubt; and I respond, as deeply as any fire-eater, to the cry: "Who dies, if England live?" But precisely that is my concern. I want England to live. For that, though I am not even the beginnings of a hero, I am willing to die. There is something unspeakably precious to me in the English tradition of freedom. I know, quite as well as any Marxist (for I have been one), that this English "freedom" is very restricted and very precarious. I know, too, that even the little tree it is has been a long while growing; and I have come to suspect that it may be uprooted far more easily than I could have believed thirty years ago.

Possibly this tradition of respect for the individual is not strong enough to stand the strain of modern times; possibly it was grown in a hot-house atmosphere of comfort and prosperity and security. But if it withers in the cold wind of reality, my England withers too. England becomes a mere pattern on the map—a country without a purpose or a soul, and with a

language that no one will dare to speak. He who speaks English speaks freedom. Who lives, if England dies?

For that freedom is England: without it, England is an automaton, not a living country. And how shall this country—this freedom that is my country—be defended today? By compelling its members to bear their part in raining high explosive and the rest of the abominations upon defenceless populations, to teach them not to rain them on our own? Is that the "uncompromising affront" to the sense of my own validity as an individual which I am called upon to endure in order to defend my country? In the very process "my country" has become a corpse: there is nothing to defend.

Pacifism is anti-social, in respect of existing society, which in pursuit of its own "security" moves steadily down the steep incline toward a war of total extermination between peoples. Pacifism is anti-social, in this sense, simply because it is social. When a society, in order to exist unchanged, forces upon its members conduct which they know to be abominable, then men have to choose between being "social" in the sense of Mr. Jerrold and being "social" in their own. To be "social" in Mr. Jerrold's sense today means to commit spiritual suicide—or worse, a spiritual *felo de se*. Or that is how the Pacifist feels it. And Mr. Jerrold is right enough in saying that ultimately that belief involves the individual man in setting up "the conviction of his private life" against the State, against the Church, and against any authority that bids him believe that participation in a war of mutual extermination is right and lawful.

In order that society may live, the individual may be required to die. That is true. But this truth becomes a diabolical falsehood unless its truth is safeguarded by the understanding that the life of society, and the life of the individual, is far more than mere physical existence. The individual is willing to die in the body in order that his country may live in the spirit: the individual must refuse to die in the spirit in order that his country may live in the body alone. If these things are hard to understand, it is not because they are not simple: it is because we do not want to understand them. Yet this is what Edith Cavell meant when she said "Patriotism is not enough." And then for a moment we understood what she meant. She did not say "Patriotism is humbug," as the revolutionary says, and then wonders why the spirit he has insulted turns upon him and rends him. Patriotism is a reality; and because it is a vital reality, it is as ambiguous as life itself. It can drive men towards heaven or towards hell. And today it drives men towards hell.

We lift up our hands in horror at what Japanese patriotism is doing in China. We refuse to admit to our consciousness that English patriotism will do exactly the same thing, and is doing it now, in Waziristan. It is time for a new patriotism: a patriotism that will die for its country, but will not kill for it—a patriotism that will bring the City of Man a little nearer to the City of God, instead of degrading it to the City of the Beast.



## Some Recent Publications

## War Resisters at Home and Abroad

REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT, July, 1934, to July, 1937. Grace Beaton. War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. 3d.

"WE are confident that if you who read this will think the matter through, you will see that it is more reasonable to form a League of Peoples for bringing about security and peace through cooperation and sharing than it is to organize for mutual destruction and barbarism," Mr. George Lansbury states in his preface to this book—the report presented to the International Conference, meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark, July 23-26.

The booklet contains a brief record and review of the work carried on by



Remember War Resisters Too.

groups in 68 countries of the world. It points out the difficulties experienced in some places where people work single-handed, suffering persecution and imprisonment for their faith.

"You must read this report from end to end" is the advice of Mr. Lansbury. "When you have read of what others are doing you must ask yourself, 'What am I going to do about it?' . . . The choice before us is just this—shall we endeavour to maintain our power by force of arms, or instead shall we proclaim to the world that we have learned this truth, that sharing, cooperating together for service is a surer way of life than competition and war?"

## Preparing for the Next War

Written before Japan's outrages, these words are worth recalling:

Although Britain has always been outraged at the idea of gas warfare, there is a Chemical Defence Research Department, with headquarters in London, employing twelve high officials and noted scientists.

There is also an Experimental Station at Porton, near Salisbury, with a staff of 23 officials, among whom are a commanding officer, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a military experimental officer, three assistant experimental officers, and two physiologists.

Today Great Britain spends even more than the United States upon preparations for gas warfare.

(From an article by Heinz Liepmann. *Daily Herald*, April 15, 1937.)

## THE CHRISTIAN ASPECT

The series of addresses on the Christian aspect of pacifism by the Rev. E. J. Keely-Wright referred to on page 12 in last week's PEACE NEWS, will be held in the Independent Church, Lower Edmonton. The series commences tomorrow (October 17).

## Britain's Imperial Domination

FEDERAL INDIA: Indian opposition to the new Constitution. Carl Heath. Published by author, White Wings, Manor Way, Guildford, Surrey. 1d.

CARL HEATH has done well through this pamphlet in bringing vividly before his readers the actual impressions aroused in India by the Government of India Act, 1935. At the outset he says that it was quite clear that the intention of Great Britain in going forward was good. It is therefore all the more needful that people in this country should realize why India rejects this Act as unsatisfactory.

The writer goes into some detail regarding the reception accorded the Act and in conclusion says "there can be no real peace in India until the imperial domination of Great Britain is replaced by a federal system of India's making and having her free assent, and India rules herself, taking her place in the British Commonwealth of Nations under the Statute of Westminster, and at Geneva in the League, as a free sovereign State; and controlling without question her own foreign policy, her own army, and her own finance."

## ANXIOUS YEAR

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE Report for 1936. Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

THAT "the success of the Peace Pledge Union is witness to the growing realization of the futility of international affairs conducted on a war basis" is the statement contained in the above-named report. The year under review has been a year full of anxieties, states the report. "The dreadful civil war in Spain has been a cause of much trial to the peace movement. Many have seen it as part of the growing conflict between reaction and advance in social and economic affairs. Others have viewed it as a battle between fascism and democracy."

The report reveals that in spite of the year's anxieties the Peace Committee has come through with honours, and work generally has been satisfactory.

BEFORE we go on to the details of a later rehearsal, something might here be said about the individual actor's interpretation of his part. The dictionary says that to interpret is to "bring out the meaning" of a thing, and it is with the intention of doing this that the actor must approach his part. A part is something more than spoken words and set gestures and movements; it is something more, even, than the author visualized when he wrote it. It is more than these things because a character comes to life for the first time when an actor portrays it. Even so, you often see an actor going through a part without bringing it to life. His technique may be excellent and the part may be excellently written, but still there is no living, breathing person on the stage. To give life to a part it is necessary to discover the meaning in it.

Perhaps, after all, no-one can tell an actor how to do this. One can only give a hint or two; the actor's intelligence and, above all, his imagination must do the rest. First of all the part must be studied. This is not simply a matter of learning the lines by heart, but of asking yourself such questions as this: What is this character really like? Why does he say and do so-and-

## P.P.U. FILM SCHEME IN OPERATION

THE P.P.U. scheme for showing peace films has now been in operation for several weeks. The projector and sound equipment is the latest R.C.A. model, and is suitable for halls with a seating capacity up to about 800. The apparatus and films are to be transported in a small van, and groups who are having a performance will generally be asked to make arrangements for garaging the van for the night, and also hospitality for the operator.

FILM LIBRARY. The films of which the P.P.U. already have copies are as follows:—

Three mins.—1. Introductory talk by Dick Sheppard.

Three mins.—2. Interview with George Lansbury.

Three mins.—3. Canon Morris speaking on the necessity of individual action and local organization. (This should be valuable in increasing our active membership).

90 mins.—4. *Kameradschaft* (with superimposed English sub-titles).

It has been decided not to have *Peace or War* as it would make too large a preponderance of "interview" films.

It is hoped to get a further selection of shorts, including a film on air raid precautions, which is being made under the supervision of the Cambridge

scientists, and possibly some of the G.P.O. films.

Cost:—

Hire of apparatus, including transport to anywhere in the British Isles . . . £1 16 6  
The three shorts (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) (for all three) . . . 7 9  
*Kameradschaft* . . . £1 11 0

A reduction of 25 percent on the second and subsequent performances will be made if two or more performances are booked on the same day.

IMPORTANT. The apparatus is only suitable for A.C. supplies. If it is impossible, however, to find a hall on A.C., special arrangements can be made for running it off D.C. But please try and get a hall with A.C.

FILM FUND. It will be realized that the prices the P.P.U. are charging only just cover expenses. They are making the lowest possible charges in order that small groups may not be deterred from having film shows, and also in order that groups may collect funds for other activities. If, however, a show is successful and makes a reasonable profit, the group may care to contribute something toward the Film Fund. This will be used for increasing the film library. The fund is also open for individual contributions.

For further particulars write Nigel Spottiswoode, P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, W.1.

## "Peace is Life"

A STRIKING poster has recently been published by the Women's Cooperative Guild, along with a leaflet explaining what it stands for.

In the poster a child is seated among flowers, looking out with a steadfast and wondering gaze. Above, death is signified by a black cloud of aeroplanes. A white dove is flying against the cloud and across the poster are the words "Peace is Life."

The leaflet points out that the child is not only a symbol of life in general, but represents the New Life which Co-operators have set out to bring, "not by warring after the flesh, but by using weapons which are mighty to the pulling down of strongholds."

Both the leaflet and the poster are obtainable from the Women's Co-operative Guild, 17 Great Prescott Street, London, E.1, at 1d. and 2d. respectively per copy.

## More About Plays—9

so? In what ways is he different from other people in the play, what makes him an individual? Try to imagine how the character would behave in situations not actually included in the play (e.g., in a motor-accident, taking his children for a walk, having lunch with a business acquaintance); in this way you will find a great many clues to the proper way for him to behave in those situations which are included in the play.

Out of this process of study and imagination should grow the process of feeling the part. This means that you must actually become the character you are portraying. You are no longer John Smith, you have forgotten John Smith's body and mind, his familiar life and habits, his looks, voice, clothes, gestures; you have become the person you are portraying, and you must feel as though you were born, and have grown up, that person. Let the idea of the character take complete possession of you. This is very difficult, but it is very exciting. You may have to try for a long time before you find that you have become someone other than yourself. When you

## HOW TO DO WHAT YOU CAN'T!

Actual conversation with an average intelligent Englishman (railway worker), 1937.

Railway Worker: "That was a hellish business that Guernica affair. Women and children, invalids, old folks, nursing mothers—everybody, bombed and machine-gunned."

Pacifist: "It was hellish all right."

Railway worker: "That was the Germans you see. The swine. The only way to cure 'em is to give 'em a good strong dose of it themselves. Crush 'em—keep 'em down."

Pacifist: They were pretty well settled in 1918. It doesn't seem to have cured 'em."

Railway Worker: "You never will cure 'em."

Pacifist: "Hatred and injustice breeds hatred and resentment—every time."

find that you have difficulty in becoming yourself again when you leave the stage, you will be on the way to playing the part well!

There is a further process still, harder to carry out and perhaps only rarely carried out. After being possessed by the character you are playing, you should be able to be, as it were, two people at once. John Smith should be allowed to take a hand. You are still the character, wholly possessed by it, but your own ordinary self should be standing apart from the character and watching it, directing it. Possession by the character is "subjective" acting, but this further step is "objective" acting and has all the advantages of objectivity—cool criticism of your own performance, restraint, a sense of power over the part.

Put into words, this business of interpreting a part sounds high-falutin and perhaps unnecessarily difficult. But you will make no real effect on the audience unless you attempt something of the sort. At least it is absolutely essential both to know thoroughly what the character is like and to feel that you are actually living his life.

R. H. Ward

THERE is beauty. were beautiful for the Land of great beauty dwellers in condition in peacefully to best effect.

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## PACIFI

by A.

## 1. Faith

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# A PARABLE OF PEACE

—by—  
E. E. BRISCOE

THERE was a certain city, situated amidst scenery of surpassing beauty. The houses of this city were beautiful, and sound in structure, for the Landlord of the estate, a person of great benevolence, desired that the dwellers in the city should have that condition in which they could live peacefully together and work to the best effect.

But the people lived selfishly, so that envy arose amongst them, causing many disputes. As time passed, all sense of sympathetic cooperation disappeared, and violent quarrels became frequent. None ever thought to discover the root cause of these troubles, all carelessly agreeing that such things always will happen, even in the best of cities.

Thinking that unity is strength, those who had similar selfish aims joined together in groups to protect their interests, or attack other groups and seize what they wanted from them.

Everybody went about carrying a stout stick, and pockets full of stones, at the same time protesting that they hated fighting, and only wished to live

in peace; but as everyone was clearly intent upon attacking everyone else, the only way to prevent conflict was to be adequately equipped for self-defence. A singularly thoughtful man one day announced that if they all hated conflict and desired peace, there could be no need for defence, whereupon they said he was mad, and put him under restraint.

Matters grew rapidly worse. Distribution of food and other necessities became hopelessly disorganized; so that the poor were only able to save themselves from starvation by digging out stones and cutting cudgels for those who made much profit from supplying the weapons for "defence."

Then came some serious outbreaks of fighting, so furious that many were grievously injured, and some even suffered death. At this there was a great outpouring of horror and indignation. The Priest wrung his hands and called upon God to save them. He besought the people to pray for peace and implored them to do everything possible to prevent conflict, warning them never to forget to carry their cudgels and plenty of stones. "Fill your pockets so full of stones," he said, "that their swollen appearance shall strike fear into the hearts of those who seek to cause strife." So all the inhabitants carried such heavy loads of stones that they could hardly walk about, and became so tired and embittered that their thoughts always dwelt upon possible conflict, and no hope of a permanent state of peace ever entered their minds.

ONE day a party of travellers came to the city. And when they were come into the main street they were

astonished to see men moving slowly about with bowed backs, and supporting themselves on stout sticks. At first they thought these men must be old and feeble, but when they saw the men's pockets bulging with stones, they were amazed. Then they beheld the Priest, bent almost double by the load of stones which he carried, coming slowly toward them. They greeted him respectfully, raising their hats, and the leader of the party jested, saying that it seemed as though they had wandered into the "stone-age." Then he asked the Priest if he would explain to them the meaning of this strange state of the citizens. "Willingly will I do so," replied the Priest: and he took them to his house. After he had given them refreshment he told them of all the trouble in the city. "We are doing all that is possible to prevent general conflict," he concluded sadly.

"To make general conflict" retorted the chief of the travellers; and overcome by the ludicrousness of the situation, they all burst into laughter, so that the Priest waxed very angry and requested them to depart. But when they humbly begged his pardon and offered to give him good counsel he relented.

So the chief traveller, a man of vast knowledge and experience, showed the Priest how impossible it is to have human harmony and general satisfaction where there is no system of cooperation, and urged him to inform the people from his pulpit, and in their homes, that mutual sympathy is not merely a virtue, but sound, worldly wisdom. Without it, he said, neither individuals, communities, nor nations can hope to exist in security and peace. He then proceeded to advise the Priest regarding the present predicament of the city. "It seems almost beyond remedy," he remarked gravely, "but

there is still a way out of the muddle, if no time is lost.

"First, go to the richest and most powerful man in the city and speak to him with such earnestness that he shall listen to you with respect. Tell him that, if he will, he can save the city from final disruption—that, in saving all he will save himself; for if he refuses he will perish in the general upheaval that is inevitable unless prevented now. Then instruct him that he must use his influence to persuade all the others to meet together, with him and you, in the centre of the city, to hear and consider the causes of this antipathy that is amongst you, and try to set up a sane system of friendly co-operation. And when they are all gathered together he must stand before them and renounce his faith in fighting and weapons of destruction. In proof of his sincerity he must take his own stones and sticks to the lake outside the city, and, before all the people, cast them in, calling upon everyone to do likewise. Seeing his sincerity, others will cast away their loads of dangerous rubbish. Then your peace will be in the making.

"Impossible as this may seem to you in your present state of madness, it can be done, and—it is the only way.

"You must rid yourselves of this stupid self-interest, and the crazy suspicions and deceits that are bred by it. You will then find that there is never any need for destructive conflict."

"I am profoundly grateful to you for this enlightenment," said the Priest: "for I now perceive that we have indeed been demented. You may rest assured that I shall act according to your wise counsel." Then the travellers departed.

THE next year the travellers came again to the city, anxious to know whether the people had found peace. They looked eagerly around, and were delighted to see everyone walking about briskly, with straight backs, and free from any burden of stones. Presently they saw the Priest, standing by an open door, talking to someone within the house. When he saw the travellers, he hastened to meet them, his face beaming with a smile of welcome. Shaking them each cordially by the hand, he remarked, with a twinkle in his eye—"You can now ask us for bread without fear of receiving a stone," whereat they all laughed heartily.

"Now come with me to my house," he said, "for I have good news to tell you." So they went, and after they had been refreshed, he told them how the people had recovered their sanity, grappled with the various causes of their discontent and enmity, and saved themselves from disaster.

He admitted that there were still, needless to say, occasional troubles and contentions, but they were always settled justly, and to the best advantage of all concerned, at their Central Council of Adjustments, the members of which were elected by the people every year.

"And, most of all, I want to tell you this," said the Priest, with deep earnestness—"I now teach the people a reasonable religion, free from vague superstitions and useless ritual. I call it THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, and, he added, with a faint smile, THE SISTERHOOD OF WOMAN. I tell them that the Kingdom of Heaven, that is peace, can exist only within themselves. And I have hung in my church a large banner, on which is inscribed that essentially peaceful saying—"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

## PACIFISM AND THE PUBLIC

by A. STEPHEN NOEL

### 1. Faith

THE point of view of the pacifist is liable to misinterpretation in a world which is constantly thinking in other terms. It is not easily realized that negative thought has to be turned into effective action. People will say that they have faith in all sorts of things, not realizing that faith must have two elements: firstly a conception of the things hoped for, and secondly, assurance that these things can be reached.

It is interesting sometimes, when the question is raised by people who have not yet seen exactly what the pacifist is driving at, to ask them whether they have faith in rearmament. The answer will often be that they certainly have a firm belief that armaments create sufficient fear in other people to maintain peace; as though peace were always maintained by the element of fear.

If, however, the matter is pressed a little further, and they are asked whether their faith is directed toward the accomplishment of some object hoped for, they will say "Yes": but if it is asked what object they have in view, the answer will be that they are "aiming at international peace." Ask them whether they are assured that their method will reach the object desired, and they will hesitate to use the word "assurance." Thus faith, which according to a fairly reliable definition is the assurance of things hoped for, fails to enter into the logic of their thinking.

The pacifist should ask himself whether his faith as a pacifist supplies him with this assurance: and if he replies in the negative he must find himself some other faith that will give him greater assurance.

It will, however, be normally conceded that a man who understands the technique of a non-violent resistance will believe that such pacifism is assured of success when applied: though it may be that the term "success" has other implications than those suggested by modern usage, which reveals certain Victorian and pre-Victorian traditions.

## NON-VIOLENCE PUT TO TEST

IN PEACE NEWS of September 1, the question was raised as to when and where non-violence had been tried and succeeded.

Here is a most crucial example of it, and the result.

Early in the Maccabean Wars, when Antiochus and his officers were endeavouring in every possible way to break the allegiance of the Assidean Jews to their laws—Circumcision, Sabbath-keeping and the like—large numbers had fled into the wilderness to join Mattathias and his sons; they were in hiding.

The officers tempted them thus:—"Let that which ye have done suffice; come forth and ye shall live." It was the Sabbath, and the attack began. The Assideans answered them not, nor cast a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they were hid. For they said:—"Let us die all in our innocence; heaven and earth shall witness for us that ye put us to death wrongfully."

So the forces of Antiochus slew one thousand men with women and children, also much cattle. Mattathias and his company mourned for them, but decided in future, if attacked on the Sabbath, to defend themselves, "lest we should be routed out of the earth."

The parting of the ways had come, and this event may be fitly compared with non-violent resistance in India, and the question—"How long is it to continue?" I refer especially to Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography, a ponderous tome but of enthralling interest.

Writing from prison after prison, Nehru returns often to non-violent

resistance and discusses the ethics and philosophy of it. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, still thinks that Ahimsa is the one and only method by which to meet hostile force, having in it the power to build up the character of the resister, and possibly even convert the foe. But Nehru (say two years ago) had begun to think that a term should be put to suffering; and what suffering these Indian resisters have endured and gloried in! How many of us realize it? Nehru began to consider they had made a sufficient protest; but his carefully worked out opinions must be read to appreciate them. In any case, it is clear that the practice of Ahimsa for ten to fifteen years has raised millions of crushed and helpless serfs to a united front of men and women working under control with one hope for freedom and one determination to offer their lives for it.

It might be profitable to compare Ahimsa and Martyrdom. Are they exactly the same or where should a line be drawn? Jeremy Taylor, writing on Charity (or the Love of God), says, "Of this love, martyrdom is the highest instance; that is, a readiness of will rather to suffer any evil than to do any."

It has generally been applied to those who laid down their lives for God and religion, and we may surely class the Assideans amidst the martyr throng—those of them who did not resist by force of arms.

We do indeed speak of the "Martyrs of Tolpuddle"! They gave their lives for a noble principle.

Remarkable that Gandhiji teaches that the positive meaning of "Ahimsa" has the equivalence of LOVE!

N. H. MORTON.



## BE SERVANTS NOT MASTERS

MR. R. C. SMART says that sanity will begin to replace the murderous instincts and rivalries of international capitalism when this country agrees to meet trade competition by fair methods of competitive manufacture and commerce.

But we had these methods before 1914 and war came when one country felt it could no longer compete, though the soldiers were told a different tale. Competition, being a sort of trade war, will in the end lead to war with arms so long as those who have to do the fighting are willing to do it.

"Fair" methods are also quite impossible as long as some countries have a devalued currency. Pounds and dollars are accepted not because those who take them want to spend them in England or in the U.S.A. but because they know that they are willingly accepted in any country of the world. Only complete sovereignty can enable the have-not countries to impose their currency on the people of another country.

The only way out seems to me to produce for consumption instead of profit, to make ourselves servants instead of wanting to be masters; and the only way to bring this about is, it seems to me, for those masses who have eventually to do the fighting and preparing for it, to make it clear that they will not do it. Commerce and industry will then have to adjust itself accordingly. It is useless to try to save the world by keeping up a system which is not Christian. I am not attached to any church but I am convinced that there is no choice but to accept Christ's way or take the consequences.

A. G. NASH.  
46 Lowman Road, London, N.7.

## Distorted

"Duty to God and the King."

This phrase is used very widely for patriotic purposes. It comes from the New Testament and is taken from St. Peter's first epistle, chapter 2, verse 17, which reads:

*Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King.*

But the meaning has been completely distorted.

The epistle was written by St. Peter to various Christians scattered throughout Pontus Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, exhorting them to lead a quiet and peaceful life, bearing patiently the torment and persecution to which the Christians were then being submitted throughout the Roman Empire. The king referred to therefore must be Nero, their chief persecutor!

Looking round for a modern equivalent we might compare it with what might have happened had the Kaiser established himself as the conqueror of Europe. Then we must imagine a present-day St. Peter exhorting all believers to "honour the Kaiser."

The whole point of the exhortation lies in the avoidance of conflict and the bearing of all physical and material suffering patiently for the sake of the Kingdom of Christ. A thoughtful reading of the epistle shows this clearly.

How very different this is from the way in which these words of peace are used to spur young fellows on to sacrifice their lives to the god of war.

J. DUNFORD SMITH.  
45 Warnham Court Road, Carshalton Beeches, Surrey.

# LETTERS to the EDITOR

## BEWARE OF DOUBLE MEANINGS

### Material Force

LORD PONSONBY'S article is most valuable, for even some writers who are otherwise deservedly popular, are careless when writing against pacifism.

Dr. R. J. Campbell, in an article in the *Church of England Newspaper* seeking to prove that the pacifist position is unchristian, says:—

It is the duty of the citizen to contribute to the call of the State to the preservation of

### SALES RECORD CORNER

On October 1 Mrs. Phillips, of Birmingham's team of PEACE NEWS sellers, sold 26 copies in sixty minutes in the centre of the city. Can you beat this our Don?

WILFRED S. BURTT.  
Birmingham.

the common life by the use if necessary of material force.

The term "material force" includes much of police action, of work in hospitals, and in saving of life from perils of fire and tempest. It would not exclude, as the Bishop of Birmingham has pointed out, the action of a nurse in pushing a perambulator.

But "material force" may also mean—and this is what the pacifist is up against—the force of the bombing plane and of all the instruments of modern scientific devilry employed in war.

EDWIN GREEN.

283 Westboro' Road, Westcliff-on-Sea.

### "Worth Stressing"

I should like to suggest the following points as ones worth stressing by groups at the present moment, especially in writing to papers.

(1) All war is barbarous, irrespective of the nationality, religion or politics of the criminal.

(2) All preparation for war of the Japanese type must be condemned.

(3) League and non-League nations should join in cutting off all arms, money, metals, and fuel for war from all combatants.

(4) An economic conference must meet as soon as possible, to consider among many things Japan's economic and population problems.

(5) The slaughter of Guernica and Canton is the direct result of our government's refusal to abolish bombers. We can remedy this by pressing for an immediate halt to the arms race, followed by total disarmament.

In no circumstances should war materials leave this country.

BYRON IRELAND.

Alverstoke, Gosport, Hants.

### A SUGGESTION

In the event of war, the clergy would presumably be exempt from active military service. Consequently they would escape the pressure brought to bear upon their lay comrades.

May I suggest that at the declaration of war, pacifist parsons should resign their offices and take their stand shoulder to shoulder with the C.O.s in their congregations.

Free Churchmen could seek immediate re-election as lay ministers. For Anglicans it might not be so practical a suggestion.

OWEN BUTLER.  
New College, N.W.3.

### A "Hand's-Turn"

THE importance of Lord Ponsonby's article, "Beware of Double Meanings," cannot be over emphasized, and its application to other than foreign affairs is well illustrated on page eight of the same issue of PEACE NEWS, where Mr. Wellock's pamphlet is quoted as follows:—

More than one third of the national income went into the pockets of people who in return for it rendered not a hand's-turn of service.

What exactly is this intended to mean? Are we to understand

1. That only that is "service" which involves a "hand's-turn"—i.e., manual labour? or

2. That there is something wrong in receiving income except in return for rendering a "hand's-turn of service"? If so, what of the millions paid out annually as unemployment "doles"? or

3. That the old mediaeval idea is right, that a man is entitled to the produce of his labour and no more? If so, what is a waiter entitled to, and a dustman? Also how are we to protect ourselves from the sin of profiting from cooperation and the demoralization of enjoying the benefits of the social services?

All this indicates the urgent necessity for pacifists to re-analyse and re-express the economic processes in precise and objective terms as distinct from repeating the misleading generalizations of left wing politicians and their supporters.

CHAS. F. TITFORD.

20 Forest Drive East, E.11.

### New Adherent

Dick Sheppards do not grow on gooseberry bushes. Nor do Dr. George MacLeods. With every respect to both of these men, I do not think you do the best thing for pacifism when you try to press them into the same mould by calling Dr. MacLeod "the Dick Sheppard of Scotland." What does want emphasizing is that the P.P.U. has gained a new adherent with a new contribution to make to its growth.

Like many other pacifists I met and talked to Dick Sheppard at Swanwick camp. I do not think I misrepresent him in saying that I am sure he measures the growth of pacifism by the adherents we gain who are as little as possible like the original founders. When we have won Neville Chamberlain, who is emphatically not the Dick Sheppard of anywhere, we shall have won everything.

Meanwhile I should like to welcome to the P.P.U. the one and only Dr. MacLeod of Scotland.

A. C. STANILAND.

6 Millman Street, London, W.C.1.

We entirely agree. The phrase was used merely in allusion to the interesting coincidence that both achieved fame as "radio parsons."—ED.

### Clap-trap

If the "safety-first" generals, politicians, ex-Service "base-wallahs" and "dugout fiends" who attack General Crozier for having the courage to tell them the truth about countless "heroes" of the Great War, had wasted the best years of their lives as front line privates, they would realize that all the bunk written and uttered about "honour and glory" in war is just clap-trap.

If patriotism consists of making personal physical and financial sacrifices for one's country, then, like the late General Crozier, I'm "true blue," but if, as in the case of some of his critics, it consists of skulking in safety while accepting honours or a fortune for ordering others to make those sacrifices, then like the late General Crozier, I'm crimson red!

W. RATHBONE.

29 Brooklands Drive, Perivale, Greenford, Middlesex.

## HITLER AND PEACE PACTS

MAY I reply to a few of the points raised by Mr. Spence.

I quite agree that the world's rulers are not deceived by an "Eidolon" and go to war for quite different reasons from those told to the public. But in order to get the people up to the fighting point, they prepare the way for war by a false propaganda by which they create an "Eidolon" of another nation in the public mind, which is so horrible that the people rush to the slaughter of the unfortunate inhabitants of another country, under the delusion that they are killing the "Eidolon."

Mr. Spence is the victim of an "Eidolon" of modern Germany, which has been deliberately created in his mind by the Press and politicians, so as to make the people ready for another war with Germany.

I cannot approve the treatment of the Jews in Germany (which, I may say, has been grossly exaggerated in this country), but a whole national movement cannot be condemned for one black spot.

I do not know what is meant by fascism except that it is a word the mere mention of which makes some people see red, but I have made a close study of National Socialism, and have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the most remarkable ethical movements the world has ever seen, calling for brotherly love and service between German and German.

It is only necessary to read the speeches made by Hitler, by which I do not mean the garbled selections that appear in our newspapers, to realize

OWING to heavy pressure on space we have unfortunately been compelled to hold over as many letters as would have filled another page.

that the idea of aggressive wars against other nations for purposes of territorial conquest are opposed to the whole conception of National Socialism.

Since the entry of the German soldiers into the neutral zone, which can hardly be described as an aggressive act, Hitler has

offered peace pacts, by which the nations are pledged not to make war upon each other, to all his neighbours, including ourselves;

made a peace pact with Poland;

stated that any cause of quarrel with France is inconceivable;

agreed to a fleet one-third of the size of ours;

declared that Germany promises to respect the neutrality of Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland; and

stated that the internal government of Austria is her own affair.

He has included Czechoslovakia in his offer of peace pacts, and is only indignant with the Soviet because they are trying to undermine the government by financing a communist revolution in Germany.

Even Madrid admits that there are no German soldiers fighting for Franco but only German technicians who came in before auxiliaries were forbidden. The statement that the German Government was in any way responsible for the bombing of Guernica is an infamous lie invented by the English Press.

A. P. LAURIE.

38 Springfield Road, N.W.8.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Reginald S.

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Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

## AWAY FROM BIG BEN

THE decisions of the Labour Party Conference have been made familiar to readers through the daily Press. Certain newspapers also added a few journalistic embellishments—"uproar" and "scenes" and so forth. There was no "uproar" and in fact it was a very good conference with only a few minor frictional incidents.

True, on one occasion some delegates were a little vociferous at the failure of the chairman to call a woman speaker and the chairman tactlessly informed one young man that he might be put outside. On another occasion there were many shouts of dissent when Gordon Macdonald, an English lay-preacher and miners' M.P., who speaks fluent Welsh, stated that George Lansbury was doing harm to the Labour Party. But both these were transitory and harmless spray from the lively but stormless sea.

Personalities are for me the chief interest at conferences. I had a seat immediately in front of the rostrum and although this advantage did not secure my being called to speak (in spite of a score of "bobbings up and down") yet it gave me ample opportunity to watch and listen.

Hugh Dalton, the chairman, strong and clear voiced as he was, possesses a somewhat Sergeant Major temperament that tempered appreciation of his finer qualities. A sharp, peremptory "Sit down. No points of order allowed" addressed to a delegate may or may not be preferable to a more generously phrased request, but the Sergeant Major looks democratically incongruous when he quickly modifies his imperious commands at the realization that it is Ernest Bevin who has raised the point of order and not the unknown delegate from Mudborough.

That is not good enough and quickens one's wonder as to the effect such a temperament as Dalton's would have on delicate diplomatic negotiations if he were British Foreign Secretary. How exceedingly important is this fact of personality and its psychological processes in the conduct of social and political affairs and the effective solution of their problems!

George Lansbury received a deeply affectionate welcome. The heart, at least, of the Conference is sound. It is the head that is in conflict, and it is certain that very few delegates were without a sense of sickening bewilderment at the diverse loyalties and the bitter paradoxes of international issues. The majority, mainly of T.U. delegates, endorsed rearmament, but there is still a deep apprehension of its ultimate significance, and though they smiled at first, the delegates became restless at the clever, though cumbersome orthodox defence by James Walker, M.P., of the Executive.

Ponsonby and Salter made effective speeches, whilst Cripps and Aneurin Bevan impressed the Conference with their denunciation of capitalist bombs and bullets. Personally I feel, however, that the applause for the clever condemnation of capitalist rearmament was an emotional evasion of the ultimate issue: should arms be used for righteousness' sake?

It is no good claiming that the Government is not righteous. It may not be, but if this government with which we were urged not to collaborate were to declare war on Italy because of her invasion of Spain, we might then find Cripps on a Trafalgar Square recruiting platform. Meanwhile, apparently, we must repudiate collaboration with the British Capitalist Government and welcome collaboration with the American Capitalist Government.

This week's correction: The pacifist should not imagine that because he enjoys fellowship with Lansbury and Sheppard he is really in contrast with humanity. This should read "contact with humanity."

## Far East Affects Spain Problems

FIRM yet somewhat conciliatory in tone was Italy's refusal, received in London on Saturday, to the Franco-British invitation to three-party discussions on ending foreign intervention in Spain.

"The question of non-intervention," said the Note, which also reaffirmed solidarity with Germany, "should continue to be dealt with at the London Committee." Italian Press comment revealed a hope that Britain's commitments in the Far East will lead her to dissuade France from opening the Pyrenean frontier.

The same commitments may yet lead the British Government to propose some such scheme as that mooted in the French Press for "peaceful" British and French naval occupation of the Balearic Islands (described as a "danger spot") to "neutralize" present Italian occupation.

Still further evidence of the wider implications of the Spanish conflict was provided by a London report that

Hitler on

## Colonial "Morality"

"NATIONS which say 'colonies are a heavy burden' do not want to relieve themselves of any part of this burden," pointed out Herr Hitler last week. Referring to the "legal owners" of some of the colonies, he said he did so only in a world and an era that is filled with ideas of League of Nations morality and decency. *It was in accordance with these ideals that we acquired our colonies, and it was in accordance with other principles, which from the standpoint of League of Nations morality are most severely to be condemned, that we lost our colonies.*

While the German Press was being mobilized for a campaign for the return of former colonies with full "equality of rights," the Conservative Party conference last week adopted a resolution (given in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago) shutting the door to such claims.

the "necessities of an international character" which have determined Italy to reinforce, and "if need arises" further to reinforce, her garrisons in Libya are felt to be an object of legitimate curiosity.

## Platform Pars

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

### Prosperity

FACTS from the *Morning Post*, September 28, indicate the value of the present reign of "prosperity" and what must follow:—

An unofficial survey of steel consumption in this country shows that more than one-fifth of Great Britain's output of finished steel is today being absorbed by rearmament.

The total production of steel in the country may be estimated at around 13,700,000 tons a year. The total of 12,700,000 tons now retained for home consumption compares with the 8,000,000 tons required in 1929 before the work of rearmament was begun. The margin of 4,700,000 between 1929 and 1937 makes an interesting comparison with the 3,500,000 tons now being used for defence purposes. It may be calculated from these figures that the exigencies of rearmament are responsible for 75 percent of the current boom in steel production.

### Insidious

DEDICATING the King's colour presented to Elstead (Surrey) Branch of the British Legion, recently, Dr. Golding-Bird, Assistant Bishop of Guildford, addressed his congregation of Legionaries as "fellow pacifists."

While it is to the honour of pacifists that their name should be considered worth annexing, the preacher, intentionally or otherwise, hit upon a most insidious method of combating the pacifist movement (which certainly appeared to be his intention). For he emptied the name "pacifist" of its vital content, so that even the soldier was told he might say, "I am a pacifist"!

### Soldier Not Honoured

THAT China is herself giving—and will increasingly give—the pacifist answer to the challenge, "What are you going to do about Japan's aggression?" continues to be brought home to people.

More convincing proof could scarcely be given than is contained in David Spreckley's first-hand account given on page one. Others have also pointed out that the Chinese have pacifism deeply ingrained in them, and at the Queen's Hall meeting reported on page two Miss Rose Simpson pointed out that even their word for "soldier" means "butcher."

### Explanation

THE general secretary of the British Empire Union (Mr. Reginald Wilson) last week told a tearful tale to the *Sunday Pictorial*, which said that "although figures are on the up-grade, speakers at recruiting meetings are faced with a barrier of absolute apathy." Mr. Wilson explained:

At the moment our union is running a big drive in the Scottish Command, and once again we are meeting unintelligent pacifism.

Much of the trouble is caused by old soldiers—men who served in the last War. One old soldier with a grudge can do a lot of harm at recruiting meetings. He can point out that he fought for his country in the War and has not had a steady job since.

Maybe that is true. But men don't fight for their country for reward. Nowadays it boils down to the plain fact that men will have to fight for themselves, their women-folk, their children and for their homes.

Unfortunately for Mr. Wilson, old soldiers don't complain about the aftermath of war for themselves so much as about the nature of war itself and its failure, among other things, to save women, children, homes. And the "trouble" is also caused by those—in England as well as Scotland—who are following the example of Tottenham (see page four) and Northampton in meeting the recruiting drives with pacifist drives on their own ground. For the pacifist message is one of life, not death.

## LATE NEWS

# CATARRH IMPAIRS EFFICIENCY GARLIC CURES CATARRH

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# Peace News

October 16, 1937

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## DIARY OF THE WEEK

### October

16 (Sat.) 2.30—5 p.m. and 6—8.30 p.m. Minister's Vestry, Queen's Road Church, **COVENTRY**; Interim Committee; Christian Pacifist Party.

6 p.m. (meet 5.45 p.m.) Friends Meeting House, High Road, **TOTTENHAM**; poster parade; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Forrester's Hall, Station Road, **LEWES**; Philippe Vernier at public meeting; F.o.R.

8 p.m. Labour Hall, **WIMBLEDON**; annual meeting of Wimbledon P.P.U. group.

17 (Sun.) Empire Cinema, **STAVELEY**, Chesterfield; Canon Stuart Morris, L. du Garde Peach and Frank Lee, M.P., at public meeting.

### FOR GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEETINGS

—See page 1.

ing; International Peace Campaign.

18 (Mon.) 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, **WELLS**; Canon Stuart Morris and W. J. Parkin at public meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hunter Street, **LIVERPOOL**; Philippe Vernier and Richard C. Wood at public meeting; Merseyside Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

19 (Tues.) 1.20—2 p.m. Friends House, **LONDON**, N.W.1; Rev. Henri P. Junod on "Black Crime and White Punishment"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

7.30 p.m. Livingstone Hall, **WESTMINSTER**; open meeting to consider formation of London Pacifist Community.

7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, **SAFFRON WALDEN**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Dr. Alex Wood and Nigel Spottiswoode at public meeting; P.P.U.

7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, **MANCHESTER**; Philippe Vernier and Runham Brown at public meeting; F.o.R.

20 (Wed.) 7.30 p.m. Bull Ring, **BIRMINGHAM**; meeting on "Constructive Pacifism, the logical method for socialists"; No More

### War Movement.

7.30 p.m. Queen Street Methodist Church, **HUDDERSFIELD**; Philippe Vernier at public meeting; F.o.R.

8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Belmont Road, **UXBRIDGE**; Walter H. Ayles and N. F. T. Saunders at public meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Wesley Schoolroom, Priory Road, **HIGH WYCOMBE**; Rev. Leslie Keeble and Mr. Frank Shuttleworth at Circuit Peace Rally; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

21 (Thurs.) 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **E.C.4**; Gerald Bailey on "Pacifism and the League"; City P.P.U. Group.

5.30 p.m. onward, 13 Paternoster Row, **E.C.4**; open discussion on Air-Raid Precautions; tea obtainable; P.P.U.

7.30 p.m. Central Hall, **CARLISLE**; Canon Morris and James Hudson; P.P.U.

7.45 p.m. St. Margaret's Hall, **STANFORD-LE-HOPE**; Reginald Sorensen at anti-war public meeting; Stanford-le-Hope Peace Fellowship.

8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, **LEEDS**; Philippe Vernier at public meeting; F.o.R.

8 p.m. Town Hall, **EAST-BOURNE**; Dick Sheppard, Ruth Fry, Rev. Leslie Artingstall; F.o.R. and P.P.U.

8 p.m. Friends Schoolroom, **HARTSHED**; programme of P.P.U. films including *Kameradschaft*; P.P.U.

22 (Fri.) 3 p.m. Vicarage Close, Portway, **WEST HAM**; John Barclay at public meeting.

7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friar Lane, **NOTTINGHAM**; Philippe Vernier on "The Christian basis of absolute pacifism"; F.o.R.

22—24 (Fri.—Sun.) University College, **LONDON**; First National Congress of International Peace Campaign; details from I.P.C., 18 Grosvenor Crescent Mews, S.W.1.

23 (Sat.) 8 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Road, **WALTHAMSTOW**; programme of P.P.U. films, including *Kameradschaft*; P.P.U.

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